

Message Text

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TAGS: ELAB, PGOV, PINT, AR

SUBJECT: LABOR-MILITARY ALLIANCE INCREASINGLY UNLIKELY

REF: BA-5134; BA-6087; BA-5856

SUMMARY. RECENT EVENTS HAVE TENDED TO INDICATE THE FALLACY OF THE CONCEPT OF AN AUTHENTIC LABOR-MILITARY ALLIANCE CAPABLE OF DIRECTING THE COUNTRY'S DESTINIES. LABOR'S OPEN DIVISIONS AND INTERNAL WEAKNESSES PRECLUDE ITS PARTICIPATION WITH THE MILITARY AS CO-EQUALS IN THE GOVERNING PROCESS. SHOULD THE MILITARY TAKE POWER, THEY WOULD PROBABLY ONCE AGAIN FIND THEMSELVES IN AN INIMICAL POSITION VIS-A-VIS LABOR. END SUMMARY.

1. REPEATED AND INCREASINGLY EVIDENT DEMONSTRATIONS OF EXTENT OF POWER VACUUM IN GOA EXECUTIVE BRANCH DURING PAST FEW MONTHS HAVE BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY HEIGHTENED SPECULATION BY MEDIA, LABOR POLITICAL AND MILITARY FIGURE THAT VIABLE LABOR-MILITARY ALLIANCE CAPABLE OF RESOLVING LEADERSHIP CRISIS COULD BE FORGED. HOWEVER, RECENT EVENTS HAVE MANIFESTED THE FALLACY OF THAT SPECULATION, AND THERE REMAINS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD THAT GENUINE LABOR-MILITARY ALLIANCE IS IN THE OFFING.

2. IN COMPLIANCE WITH GEN PERON'S WISHES, LABOR HAS ASSIDUOUSLY COURTED THE MILITARY SINCE ADVENT PERONIST GOVT. ALTHOUGH

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WITH OBVIOUS RESERVATIONS, THE MILITARY RESPONDED TO LABOR'S

OVERTURES AND HAD CONSTANT CONTACT WITH VARIOUS LABOR LEADERS DURING PAST TWO YEARS. THE CONTACTS WERE MAINTAINED DESPITE CONVICTION OF MANY INDIVIDUAL MILITARY AND LABOR LEADERS THAT ANY COINCIDENCE OF INTEREST BETWEEN THE SECTORS WOULD AT BEST BE TENUOUS AND SHORT-LIVED. THAT TENTATIVE RAPPROCHEMENT WAS GREATLY FORTIFIED BY LABOR-MILITARY COOPERATION IN FORCING DISMISSAL GOA STRONGMAN LOPEZ REGA. AS RESULT OF THAT COOPERATION, THE CONCEPT OF AN AUTHENTIC LABOR-MILITARY ALLIANCE ABLE TO RESOLVE LEADERSHIP CRISIS WHICH HAD BECOME GLARINGLY EVIDENT IN RECENT WEEKS BEGAN TO OBTAIN SOME CREDENCE.

3. EVEN SOME MILITARY AND LABOR LEADERS BEGAN TO FEEL THAT A VIABLE ALLIANCE WAS POSSIBLE DESPITE THE HISTORIC DIVERGENCE OF INTERESTS BETWEEN THE TWO SECTORS. THE TRADITIONAL ANTAGONISM BETWEEN THE TWO, PLUS THE IMPROBABILITY THAT LABOR'S POPULISTIC ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION COULD EVER REALISTICALLY COALESCE WITH THE MILITARY'S DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED ORIENTATION, WERE CONVENIENTLY IGNORED BY THE PROTAGONISTS OF AN ALLIANCE. LABOR LEADERS HASTENED TO ASSURE THE MILITARY THAT IT WOULD NEVER SEEK MONOLITHIC POLITICAL POWER WHEN IT APPEARED TO BE REACHING THAT STAGE FOLLOWING LOPEZ REGA'S POLITICAL DEMISE. ALTHOUGH SOME MILITARY EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT LABOR HAD IN FACT BECOME TOO POWERFUL, LABOR'S DENEGATION SERVED TO FORTIFY THE POSITION OF THOSE WHO SUPPORTED RAPPROCHEMENT.

4. HOWEVER, EVENTS SURROUNDING THE FORCED RESIGNATION OF ARMY CINC LAPLANE AND MININTERIOR DAMASCO'S RETIREMENT FROM THE MILITARY RESTORED LABOR-MILITARY RELATIONS TO THEIR TRADITIONAL PERSPECTIVE AND DIMINISHED ANY REAL POSSIBILITY THAT A VIABLE LABOR-MILITARY ALLIANCE WOULD BE FORGED. FROM THOSE EVENTS, THE ARMY, AND INDEED THE ENTIRE MILITARY, EMERGED MORE FULLY UNITED AND STRENGTHENED THAN AT ANY TIME DURING PERONIST GOVERNMENT. CONVERSELY, LABOR EMERGED CONSIDERABLY WEAKENED, AND EVEN FURTHER DIVIDED. 62 ORGANIZATIONS LEADER LORENZO MIGUEL WAS NOW IMPOTENT TO CONTROL EVEN PERONIST LABOR, MUCH LESS THE ENTIRE LABOR MOVEMENT. ALTHOUGH THE "INSTITUTIONAL" POSITION ADOPTED BY CGT SECRETARY CASILDO HERRERAS TRIUMPHED, HE DID NOT EMERGE AS A POTENTIAL REPLACEMENT FOR MIGUEL AS LABOR KINGPIN. RATHER, THE ENTIRE EPISODE SERVED TO HIGHLIGHT AND FURTHER EXACERBATE LABOR'S LEADERSHIP PROBLEMS.

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5. FROM A POSITION OF DISCUSSIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN EQUALS, A STRENGTHENED, UNIFIED MILITARY NOW TALKS WITH A SPLINTERED LABOR MOVEMENT REPRESENTED BY SEVERAL PRETENDERS TO THE LABOR THRONE. MIGUEL, HERRERAS AND BA GOVERNOR CALABRO ALL MAINTAIN CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE WITHIN THEIR RESPECTIVE RIVAL GROUPINGS, BUT NONE CAN CLAIM TO BEING LABOR'S SPOKESMAN. INCREASINGLY OPEN CHALLENGES BY ANTI-VERTICALIST

PERONIST LABOR LEGISLATORS AND LEADERS, AS WELL AS RANK AND FILE, PORTEND AN EVEN GREATER SPLINTERING. IN SUM, THE MILITARY HAS NO ONE WITH WHOM TO FORM AN ALLIANCE, EVEN IF IT WERE SO DISPOSED. THUS, LABOR HAS PROVED ONCE AGAIN THAT BY ITSELF IT IS NOT PREPARED TO ASSUME THE POLITICAL ROLE WHICH PERON ASSIGNED TO IT AND TO WHICH IT ASPIRES.

6. ALTHOUGH A TRUE ALLIANCE APPEARS HIGHLY UNLIKELY, WE CANNOT RULE OUT SOME POSSIBLE LABOR SUPPORT FOR THE MILITARY SHOULD IT EVENTUALLY GOVERN, EITHER OPENLY OR FROM BEHIND THE SCENES. SOME LABOR LEADERS WOULD FIND IT TO THEIR ADVANTAGE TO COOPERATE WITH THE MILITARY, AS OCCURED DURING THE YEARS BETWEEN THE PERONIST GOVERNMENTS. ALSO, ANY MILITARY "SOLUTION" WOULD PROBABLY INVOLVE THE REMOVAL OF MANY LABOR LEADERS AND THEIR REPLACEMENT WITH OTHERS "ACCEPTABLE" TO IT. REGARDLESS OF THE SOLUTION HOWEVER, THE RELATIONSHIP WOULD PROBABLY BE ONE OF MILITARY DOMINANCE RATHER THAN ONE OF AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN EQUALS. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, ANY SUCH ALLIANCE BETWEEN UNEQUALS WOULD BE ILLUSORY AT BEST, AND WOULD SHORTLY DEGENERATE INTO OPEN CONFLICT.

7. AS THE CIVILIAN GOVT SLIPS INTO AN INCREASINLY CHAOTIC ITUATION, THE ALTERNATIVES FOR THE COUNTRY ARE BECOMING MORE REFINED. WITH THE EVIDENT FAILURE OF THE MILITARY AND THE LABOR SECTOR TO REACH AN ACCORD, THE LIKELIHOOD OF A PURE "MILITARY" SOLUTION HAS BECOME CONSIDERABLY GREATER. THIS IS NOT TO SUGGEST THAT A MILITARY SOLUTION IS NECESSARILY IMMINENT, BUT RATHER THAT SHOULD SUCH A SOLUTION OCCUR, IT WILL BE ONE OF THE MILITARY ACTING ALONE, OR CERTAINLY WITHOUT THE LONG TERM SUPPORT OF THE IMPORTANT LABOR SECTOR. IN SUCH AN EVENT, THE CONSENSUS POLITICS SOUGHT BY PERON AND DESIRED BY A LARGE SECTOR OF THE ARGENTINES WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE. A GOVT EVENTUALLY BESIEGED RATHER THAN SUPPORTED BY LABOR WOULD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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